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much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclusive use of the men and boys (*toŏdr*). In the Bougainville villages these must be used by the boys wearing the *upi* (headgear indicating that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *upi*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *toŏdr* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments. Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front portion of the hut belonging to the *tmaun* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

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343 501 keeping plank canoes (*mon*). Dug-outs are usually left on the beach, care being taken to draw them up above high-water mark.

514 No special areas are set apart for latrines. People go into the bush, as a rule not very far away, the women keeping to the area behind their own quarters at the back of the line of huts. In the case of a shore village, the men and boys wander along the beach.

364 412 Some attempt is made—rather spasmodically—to keep the village clean, each woman sweeping the area round her own hut, with a broom made of bundles of the midribs of coco-nut palm leaves, tied at one end, without a handle. One man at Kurtatchi, more inventive than the others, made a rough wooden shovel, with handle all in one piece, with which to remove pigs' dung. Different villages vary very greatly in the extent to which they are swept and cared for, and as dogs and pigs wander round freely, while everybody constantly flings down areca-nut husks, bits of coco-nut, and miscellaneous oddments, even a short period of neglect suffices to give the village a very unkempt appearance.

342 [177] *Huts.* At Petats, and a few other villages, under the tuition of the Missions, the natives now build themselves houses raised on piles, with plank walls and high-pitched roofs (see Pl. 3 *b*). But in most places, especially in Bougainville, the native type of hut still predominates, built on the bare earth, thatched with sago-palm leaves in the shape of a broad gothic arch, with the roof almost touching the ground on both sides. They are all exactly alike; their appearance can be seen from the photographs. There are no windows. At each end is a very small opening (a typical one measured 21 × 16 in.), serving as entrance and exit, closed by having planks set across it at night or when the hut is left empty.

[439] At the present time a few natives have plank doors swung on hinges and perhaps fastened with a bolt bought at the Chinese stores. The doors are raised about 3 ft. from the ground-level, and in front of each is a sort of shelf of split areca-palm trunks, 2 or 3 ft. in width, which serves as a sitting platform or verandah, as well as an aid to scrambling in and out. The end of the hut, facing the dancing space, with its entrance and verandah, is called *tagoon*, and is reserved for the men, women being allowed to use it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's place is at the back, called *babots*, including not only the back 'verandah' but all that portion of ground which adjoins the back of the huts, irregular in its outline because the larger huts project into it farther than the

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others (see Pl. 4). Here the women work, cook, and gossip; the men may join them if they wish, except the boys wearing the *upi* (leaf hat connected with puberty ceremonies), to whom all that portion of the village is rigorously taboo.

The interior is alike in all. There are no dividing partitions. The floor is the bare earth, trodden hard. The only furniture is a row of broad planks propped up on small logs, along one side of the hut, which serve as beds. Short lengths of bamboo are used as pillows. Between each plank is just space enough for a small fire. There is probably a place for roasting taro with the aid of hot stones, the native oven, at the farther end of the hut near the women's entrance. Cooking pots, the cleaned-out coco-nut shells used to store water, packs for carrying taro, and a few personal possessions, lie on the ground; sometimes a plank is laid across two poles to form a shelf on which such objects can be kept out of the way. Bundles containing more valuable property hang from the rafters, tied up in banana fibre or old loin-cloths. Every returned plantation hand is the proud possessor of a wooden box with lock and key, part of the kit which must be provided by the employer for each of his 'boys' when they 'sign on', which he displays in a prominent position. All sorts of treasures such as medicine bundles, knives, &c., are stowed away between the thatch and the supporting rafters. Nets and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens hang over the cross-poles that form part of the framework of the hut, and there is usually a basket containing some pieces of cold taro in case any one feels hungry at a time when it is not convenient to cook.

As a rule, the household consists of father, mother, and children. In the case of polygynous marriages, each wife will usually have her own hut, particularly if she has children, and the husband distributes his company as he pleases, spending a certain amount of time with the woman who ranks as his chief wife, but most of it with the one who for the time being stands highest in favour. A wife who is old or incapacitated, or one whose children have all started out for themselves, will often share a hut with one of the other wives, not always amicably. In some of the Buka villages large huts are now built, housing all the wives of one man; the interior of these is partitioned off into rooms for each. An aged parent of either sex may also form part of the household, the taboo between mother-in-law and son-in-law being relaxed when the former is old.

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lived, the same kind of life as commoners, observing the same taboos, working at the same tasks, eating the same food, and living in the same kind of huts. To this last statement there is one exception. The hut in which lives the chief wife of the head of the *tsunaun* lineage, who is usually herself *tsunaun*, has an extension in front of it, roofed, and walled at the sides but open in front, and provided with the usual platform. This is called the 'eye' of the house. Here is kept the slit-gong belonging to the *tsunaun*, which is beaten on ceremonial occasions as well as for dances. Here the older men of the village will sometimes congregate to talk, while the boys and younger men use the front of the men's house for that purpose. Except on certain ceremonial occasions, women are not allowed there, as it is only an extension of the *tagoan*, or men's verandah, of the ordinary houses. This extension makes the house the longest in the village. Its interior is no different from that of other houses. The houses occupied by other members of the *tsunaun* lineage do not differ at all, either inside or out, from those of commoners. There is no distinctive dress or attached ornament peculiar to *tsunaun*, but some of the cicatrized patterns may not be cut upon commoners.

So far as I can ascertain, the prestige of a *tsunaun* was never directly a matter of the possession of property. He is not expected to give large feasts at his own expense. If the group is concerned in an important ceremony, for which much food must be provided, he will contribute as much as possible, but the others must bring their own contributions as well. He does, as a rule, own more strings of ceremonial currency than most people can boast of, either handed down on the death of former *tsunaun* or received as payment for favours shown. But he needs more than a commoner to provide for the marriage payments of the young men of his lineage, who, being themselves *tsunaun*, should marry women equal to them in position.

A *tsunaun* usually has several wives, but that is not in itself a sign of rank, since commoners may also have as many as they wish and can provide for. He will, however, usually be betrothed to at least two while still a mere boy, whereas the commoner is probably betrothed in youth to one only, pleasing himself as to any subsequent marriages. It is usual for the first wife of a man who is *tsunaun* to be herself *tsunaun*, belonging to another village, and usually to another clan. His other wives may, if he so desires, be

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she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8*a*.

There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, very similar figures are made for use in the *watawut∫* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	*Transactions*
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of *beroan* to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

In speaking of illicit

583 intercourse with another man's wife, they use the expression *gun*
[837] *amot*, which is fairly translatable by 'steal' and is applied also to acts of theft in the ordinary sense in which we use that term. It is, of course, dangerous to rely too much on linguistic evidence, but
[684] it is noteworthy that to 'steal' a man's wife and to steal his ceremonial currency were once bracketed together, by a man with whom I was discussing the subject of theft, as crimes belonging to the same category, and that in some cases the same penalty has been exacted for both. All the people with whom I discussed the matter in relation to marriage gave me the impression that no distinction existed in their minds between paying for a wife and paying for anything else of importance.

586 The rules governing the operation of the custom are entirely compatible with this view. If the woman refuses to perform the duties of a wife, her husband can, and does, divorce her and demand his currency back—he is not receiving what he paid for so he repudiates the purchase. But if she has cause to divorce him, he does not get his currency returned to him, the break-down of the transaction was not her fault. If she dies without giving
768 him a child, he will expect to be repaid, unless he receives a sister
587 in her place. Pinari told me that the currency handed over in respect of Riro, the wife of his son Wasē, who had died, childless, not very long before my visit, would be returned, except one string, which was to be retained by her relatives 'because her body stays here', the woman having been buried at Kurtatchi. I have not seen a similar custom recorded elsewhere. If her death
845 occurs in child-birth, and the child lives, repayment is made in
768 part only, one string being retained 'for the child'. But if the child dies too, the full amount is usually asked and given. For a wife dying after having borne more than one child, no repayment is expected—the husband has had his money's worth, so to speak.

562 It does not follow that the woman is regarded as the absolute property of the man to do as he likes with. That is definitely not
581 the case. What seems to me to be the crucial point was put very clearly by a woman, Matēv, on our way back from witnessing this very transaction, when the matter was naturally the subject of conversation. She said:

'Tab to wen nor a kiki pi mon.'
Thing pay we genitals of woman.

i.e. 'What we pay for is the woman's genitals.' That is to say,

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it is not the woman that is bought, but the right to use her body for the satisfaction of the husband and the procreation of children by him. With this the man also acquires the right to be looked after and provided with food properly prepared, and failure on the part of the wife in these respects is regarded as ground for divorce. It is a wife, as distinct from a woman in her capacity as an individual, that is purchased when the strings of ceremonial currency pass from the bridegroom's family to that of the bride. She is not thereby prevented from being a person with rights of her own in the community, for her position in this society is far from being a negligible one, as will be seen from other portions of this book. My impression is that while they definitely regard the handing over of the ceremonial currency as a commercial transaction, it is not in any way detrimental to the dignity of the woman, nor does this point of view react unfavourably on her status in the community.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES PRIOR TO MARRIAGE

It will be noted that there is no feature in the series of betrothal ceremonies, nor in the final ceremony preceding the consummation of the marriage, involving a test of the girl's virginity. The question was never brought up spontaneously by the natives in our conversations regarding various aspects of sex and marriage, and the lack of response to such guarded inquiries as I made—direct questions being liable to produce misleading results—would seem to indicate that the matter is not considered of primary importance. It is noteworthy, too, that out of several hundred folk-tales and legends in my collection not a single one has any bearing on this point, though practically every other aspect of the sexual life is illustrated therein. Two cases of rape occur in my records, but both were attended by special circumstances. One, complicated by incest, has already been discussed (p. 77). The other (referred to on p. 230) concerned a girl who had attained adult years without being married owing to a deformity. Perhaps the fact that in the past it was only exceptionally that a girl was not claimed by a husband at or before sexual maturity accounts for the absence of stress on the subject. Nowadays, in the more sophisticated villages, where the age of marriage is getting appreciably later, and some freedom of choice as to whether a girl marries or not is just possible, a new situation is arising. In the few such cases known

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same proportion of each as would be obtained from a similar census in an equal number of households in our own society. But the basis of happiness or unhappiness would in most cases differ; more or less, perhaps, according to what stratum of our own society the sample used for comparison represented. Perhaps one Kurtatchi man's definition of a good wife would be accepted by a certain proportion of European husbands. Speaking of his own wife, he said: 'She looks after me well, and doesn't talk too much, and she doesn't play with other men while I am away.'

I have often wondered at the amount of ill treatment some of the women put up with without having recourse to divorce. They look upon scoldings and beatings and neglect, often undeserved, as a matter of course. Usually quarrels are quickly forgotten and neither party seems to bear malice. I think few women are persistently and continually ill-treated by their husbands. Certain men had a reputation in the village for being cruel to their wives, but on the whole, such cases were not typical, and the men were looked upon with disfavour by the other villagers. But practically every husband in the place beat his wife occasionally. Chastisement is usually administered inside the hut. I never witnessed such an episode, but I have often heard screams coming from a hut and been told that So-and-so's husband was beating her, the word used being *ib*, the same as 'to strike' or 'to fight'. It appears to be done not so much in a burst of sudden anger as deliberately, in cold blood, as a punishment. For example, one man beat his wife because he thought she did not take sufficient care of his old father, with whom they were living, when he was ill. But some men—and it was these who had the reputation for ill-treating their wives—would do it in anger and on very slight provocation, e.g. if a meal was not ready when they wanted it. One of them, who had three wives and was unkind to all of them, told me himself that one of his wives had left him because he beat her with his walking-stick; he was angry with her because she wanted to make his daughter by another wife work for her. He had no hesitation in telling me this, and was certain that the provocation was ample and that the right was on his side. She came back, however, after two days, and, as he put it: 'When I saw her I was not angry any more, and she was not either.' The same man told me, apparently priding himself on his righteousness, that he never beats his eldest wife, since she became blind, because he is sorry for her. But he

562 578 593 neglects her and is surly with her, and even in his best temper seems to take pleasure in teasing her by snatching her pipe out of her mouth or hiding her tobacco. She is looked after by one of his other wives, and would, if she left him, have no one to take care of her material needs.

The fault for an unhappy marriage is not always with the man. The two following instances give the other side of the picture. I transcribe them from my file of 'personal histories'.

562 578 593 159 Dau is a gentle, unassuming man, very fond of his wife Ira, the daughter of Pinari. He is working as an indentured labourer, but on a plantation near enough for him to come to the village fairly often. But although he spends all his earnings on Ira, bringing her loin-cloths and beads, &c., she treats him abominably, refuses to look after him when he comes, will not cook for him, and is always nagging him. Sometimes she cooks food for him and leaves it for [578] another woman to give to him, which is a deliberate insult. She is a bad-tempered woman, and is always having quarrels with the other people, especially with her father, who once gave her a whipping because of the way she treated her husband. She is disliked in the village, and the other women told me that her husband could easily divorce her because she would not cook for him, but that he cared too much for her. She does not want to be divorced because he brings her presents. They have been married only a few months. This is definitely an unhappy marriage with the woman to blame, so far as I can ascertain.

Rus, now aged somewhere in her twenties, was married to Keketsian of Ieta, while both were children, but he died before she had any children by him. She was subsequently married to [855 565] Watawi, by whom she has a son Wanias, now aged about 3–4, who will some day be heir to the *tsunaun*, and is completely spoilt by her and the whole village. She is a cross, sulky woman, and never got on well with Watawi, who is said to have tried his hardest to make her happy. Watawi became very ill, but she refused to nurse him or to provide him with food. Finally Mrs. Hadden, for whom Watawi had worked, took pity on him and kept him at her plantation, where she looked after him till he died. All the time he was there, Rus would never come near him, though he continually asked for her, neither would she let him see his baby, of whom he was passionately fond. When she was sent for, she returned angry messages that she couldn't be bothered with him. He had been

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dead for rather less than a year when I was at Kurtatchi. She had not remarried, and seemed to have no wish to do so. The general opinion was that she was a bad wife and because of her reputation for hardness would not easily get another husband. As the daughter of Matēv and mother of a future *tsunaun*, she has a position in the village in her own right, and Pinari, her *tsoa* (mother's brother), sees to it that she does not want. Here, again, the failure of the marriage seems to have been the fault of the woman, but in this case only one of the pair is personally known to me.

CHOICE OF A MATE

The prearranged marriage makes it impossible to study the motives that enter into the choice of a mate in the case of young people. They have no choice in the matter. This applies to a man's first marriage always, and in the case of a *tsunaun* probably to the second and perhaps to the third. An older man takes other wives selected by himself according to his own preference, and if the woman he decides upon be young, she has probably little say in the matter, provided her relatives agree to the match. But if she definitely dislikes him, she may prevail on her people not to sanction it. Not infrequently a man chooses as his second wife the full (usually younger) sister of his first. This seems, as far as I could judge, to be a successful arrangement as a rule. I knew fairly intimately several families in which this had been done, and the two sisters seemed to get on very amicably together. In all the instances which came under my personal observation they each had a hut, but were next-door neighbours. In the case best known to me, the husband lived most of the time with the elder sister, but treated both well. There were two children of the first wife's living, the elder adolescent; three others had died. The second wife had one child; two had died. The two households worked and played together very pleasantly, so far as an outsider could judge.

The women would not admit that they had any say at all in the matter of a husband, even apart from the early betrothal. It did not occur to them to rebel against the customary procedure. But more than one man told me that one of his wives asked him to take her because she liked him so much, although, since I was never able to get this confirmed by the women, I cannot decide how much the statement owed to male vanity, or its denial to female

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other 17 in. in length and 3 in. in width. Both large and small ones are considered to be male, and each bears the name of the *urar* whose voice it is supposed to be. Thus one of those I saw at the *wapi* ceremony was called Buwō, another Upitomet, another Tororon.

FIG. 8. Bull-roarer.

There is also a subsidiary instrument which is regarded as female. It is made by splitting open the stalk of a bush banana leaf, propping the two sides apart with a bit of stick and fixing the flat part of a leaf into the gap. By blowing upon this leaf in a certain manner, a sound is produced which resembles the wailing of women. The instrument has no name; they say: '*Mon to biom non*' (the woman is crying). The Hahon people of the mountainous hinterland make it in a different manner, by taking a canarium almond which has had its nut extracted by a *karib* (a species of tree rat) through a hole which the animal makes with its teeth at one end. They blow into this hole, thus producing a similar noise. These instruments are used to impress the novices while they are sleeping in the bush. One man sounds it on one side of their shelter, another sounds it from another direction, another in yet another place. The boys think it is their mothers wailing for them, and are frightened, not knowing what is going to happen to them. These female instruments are not sacred, and are thrown away when they have served their purpose, but no one would make one for me.

CEREMONIES SUBSIDIARY TO THE *WAPI*

Several days after the *wapi*, there is a ceremony involving the mothers of the novices (*tʃina'upi*) and the *amro*. As usual in matters of time, it was impossible to obtain exact information as to the length of the interval that is allowed to elapse. Its purpose is to allow the novices to become accustomed to managing their extremely awkward head-gear. This ceremony is called *watog* (*wa-* causative prefix, *tog* = barter). The novices take no part in it, but remain still secluded in the bush until the following day.

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524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest. The grown men join the children in this game, but the women are not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general; it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not observe this rule.)

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574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys: 'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsunaun* if they may have another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we gave before, we cannot have another now.'

[302 533]

262 252 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kaŋ*), which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 262 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw. The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green; the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit. They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous, as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to our ideas, very far from ripe.

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workers often erect temporary shelters (*tantī*) of banana leaves on the spot and remain there for weeks at a time, thus saving themselves the long walk to the garden in the morning and back again at night. They bring down a minimum of household goods, a sleeping-plank and a cooking-pot, and often do not trouble to construct more than a roof and a back to their shelter.

In the olden days, when stone implements were the only tools available, large trees were brought down by burning them at their base. Now that trade axes and knives can be obtained the trees are felled a few feet from the roots, leaving the stumps standing. Trees with a food value, such as canarium almonds, are always spared. The undergrowth is cut down and left lying where it falls till it is dry; eventually it is made into large heaps and burned, except for the thick stems of the bush banana plants which contain so much moisture that they will not burn. These are arranged in orderly piles, kept in place by stakes on each side, and left to rot.

In the ordinary way taro is planted as a routine matter without any ceremonial attaching to the operation. But there are certain 'medicines' which may be used if desired. Some of these are the sole prerogative of the women, some may be used by both sexes. I have a considerable number of these 'prescriptions' in my collection, some of the more interesting run as follows:

Buyatē (*Eranthemum* sp.).

Chew scrapings from the roots of this plant with the betel-mixture, spit on hand, rub shell-knife with which taro stalk is trimmed before planting, and knife (trade) with which ground is weeded. Rub also on taro. Your taro will be good when other people's is bad. Used only by women.

Magor (a mixture, described on p. 475).

Chew some *magor* with betel-mixture. Spit it on to a piece of stick which grew in the taro garden, then spit on the cut end of the stalks that are to be planted, and say: '*Ar wayas nor ū mū so nuts tʃan.*' 'You and I spit on the taro, now it is large.' Used only by women.

Tʃiub (plant unidentified).

Chew roots with *magor* and betel-mixture. Spit on hand, rub on stalk of taro before planting. After doing this a man must not go fishing, and a woman must not go to the shore or hunt for shell-fish on the reef. If this prohibition is not kept the taro leaves will shrivel and dry up. The time during which it is observed was not to be ascertained.

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with jagged red and yellow leaves, which is always planted in the taro garden and is supposed to have the effect of making the taro grow well. Cordyline plants are frequently put there also for the same purpose.

Meanwhile the men were cutting poles about 4 to 5 feet long, scraping off the bark top and bottom, and sharpening one end. These are called *isō* and are used to make the holes in which the taro stalks are planted. They form the only actual agricultural implement used in this district, since the trade knives used for clearing bush and weeding serve also a multitude of other purposes. When each man had been provided with one of these the men all went off to the new garden and put up a shelter in the middle of it, over part of the path which ran down its whole length. The shelter consisted merely of poles stuck in the ground with a layer of banana leaves laid across them, but it served to shade a small patch of ground where the *ēto* (medicine) could be prepared, and where food could be eaten away from the heat of the sun. The large packet of ceremonial pudding was laid under this shelter, together with bundles of leaves required for the 'medicine'. The food was consumed at intervals in the course of the day's work.

Pinari had gone off in the early morning to look for some special leaves in the bush. When he returned, all the men, but no women —except myself, by special invitation—collected round the shelter. The women remained outside the garden, beside the heaps of taro stalks.

One of the men made a receptacle (*kōbū*) by twisting up and tying the ends of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm. This he handed to Pinari, who put inside it an old *kōbū* containing a mixture of red dust and scraps of dried leaves. This mixture was not prepared on the spot, it had been obtained a long time ago from an ancestor of Pinari's living at another village, and is very highly valued. It is kept in Pinari's chief hut, and had been brought down, carefully wrapped in banana leaves, earlier in the morning. The mixture is called *tama'uy*. Pinari knows how to make it, but he would have to obtain some of the materials from a distance. Before he dies he will teach the secret to his sons. He told me later that the mixture consisted of scrapings from the roots and leaves of a number of plants, which I was not able to identify, some of them not found locally. These are mixed with a quantity of *magor*. The mixture thus prepared is kept for use as required,

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247 Most people say that this is done to protect the fruit from being eaten by parrots, but one man contradicted this statement when it was made in his presence, saying that the real reason was to make the skin of the fruit become yellow. The bananas are not gathered separately, but the whole tree is cut down and the 'rope' of fruit carried off to the house and hung up to be eaten at leisure.

I have no information regarding any magical procedure used to ensure the welfare of the banana crop, and, so far as I know, the cultivation is done without ceremonial.

Vegetables, other than taro

244 Yams are not cultivated to any great extent by the people of this district. There were none in any of the gardens belonging to the village of Kurtatchi. Some were obtained occasionally by barter. The people of Petats grew them, but they were not in season during the three months of my residence on that island, and I am not able to give any details as to the method of their cultivation.

The Petats people plant a variety of sweet potato, called *durun* in their dialect, which is tended in the same way as taro. A large stone, apparently an implement, was brought to me which its owner said he used to set up in the gardens to make the *durun* grow large. A hole is dug, and the stone is set upright in it. The owner was willing to let me have it because, having come under missionary influence, he did not intend to use it any more. The belief is that if this stone were not set up the *durun* would be small and unpalatable.

Rain-making

789 Since it is in connexion with their agriculture that the people are most dependent on the weather, and particularly on rain, this is perhaps the most appropriate place to give an account of the means which they adopt for regulating rainfall.

791 In every village there is at least one man, and often more than one, who is in the possession of the carefully guarded secret of the 566 procedure for making rain. Though they are often *tsunaun*, the 562 knowledge may be possessed also by commoners, but it is restricted to men. With this goes also the regulation of wind. One very wet day was ascribed to the fact that a famous rain-maker had just died at Saposa; as his 'skin' died the rain came down.

791 In the village of Kurtatchi the man most renowned as a rain-

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342 plement, the worker then slides a thinner strip of cane through it, thus fixing the leaves down firmly (Pl. 56 *b*). This process is continued along the length of the supporting cane, some 6 or 8 feet.

A number of these lengths of thatch are prepared, men, women, and children all lending a hand. They are put on in layers, beginning at the top of the roof, each succeeding layer being tucked underneath the one above it. Ties of the outer rind of the stem of a plant called *nin* are used to fasten the thatch to the rafters, the ties being placed at intervals of about 2 feet. If the lengths of thatch are made to overlap closely, a very good watertight roof is the result, but the work is often hastened at the expense of efficiency by making them overlap only a little, forming a roof which is very liable to be blown out of place by wind.

342 [177] The two ends of the long, narrow hut are filled in by sheets of bark tied together and to the house-posts. Nowadays, when metal tools are available, planks are more frequently used for this purpose, provided the owner of the house can obtain nails. A space is left, usually not more than slightly over a foot in breadth and rather under 2 feet in height, to serve as a door (see Pl. 33). There is a door at each end of the hut. Planks are placed against these openings at night, secured by propping a log against them on the inside. A few people have now procured hinges or staples and have constructed doors which can be opened and shut, and are sometimes fitted with a bolt. Entrance and exit by these small apertures is a matter requiring considerable agility to the unaccustomed. To enter it is first necessary to climb upon a platform about 3 feet high, which is fixed in front of the end wall, and is made of areca-palm planks resting on three stout poles firmly fixed [517] in the ground. This verandah is much used as a place to sit, sleep, and eat.

342 562 Both ends of the house are exactly alike, but the front end with its verandah (together called *tagoan*), which faces the cleared space used for dances, is reserved for the men, women being allowed to occupy it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's end is the back (*babots*), and here most of their time is [882] spent while they are at home. The men may join them, but all the women's side of the line is strictly taboo to the boys wearing the *upi*.

342 565 The house belonging to the man of greatest importance in the village (*tsunaun tʃan*) has a porch between the end wall and the

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other clan resident in the village, but these were not allowed to eat in the house. The women of the Manu clan ate on the back verandah, outside the house. This is the only occasion on which women may come to the men's house. When all the provisions had either been eaten or packed up to take home, the people dispersed.

In accordance with the practice of making the most of an occasion, this feast, which was primarily intended for the new men's house, was also made to serve for the burying of the pillow belonging to Gonu's father, and for the piercing of the nasal septum of four boys who had reached the appropriate age. Both of these proceedings are described elsewhere (pp. 492 and 425).

Fire-making

Fire is made by the stick and groove method (Pl. 57). A stick of hard wood, whittled to a point—now by a trade knife, but formerly by means of a black-lip oyster-shell or with the teeth, is rubbed along a larger piece of soft wood, held down firmly, on the ground or on a log, by a second person. The person rubbing crosses his fingers over the rubbing-stick and moves it up and down using considerable pressure, till a groove is formed in the softer wood below. The dust rubbed away is pushed into a heap at the far end of the groove by means of a splinter. No other tinder is used. The time required varies considerably with the skill of the performer, but a spark is usually produced in a few seconds. The spark is then blown very carefully until the sawdust at the end of the groove ignites.

Several kinds of trees were named as being suitable for both the rubbing-stick and the grooved stick. It is essential that one should be hard and the other soft, and that the wood used for the grooved stick should have a straight grain.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH FIRE-MAKING

Term	*Explanation*
tsura	fire.
io to iun no tsura	I make fire by rubbing.
wakō	to hold the stick on which the other man is rubbing. This stick has no special name.
weniun	the pointed stick with which the rubbing is done.
kawu	the sawdust produced by the rubbing, which becomes the tinder.

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This is put on or omitted at the pleasure of the maker, and is said to be purely decorative. A certain amount of ceremony is observed in the making of a big slit-gong. When it is brought into the village out of the bush there is a *kōma*. The ritual was not carried out in the case of the small one made for me, and I have no details of it.

Method of use. The slit-gong is beaten with a striker (*imē*), which is generally made of several small canes lashed together in a circle, but a single thicker cane may also be used. For dances, two people frequently beat it together, one using slow measured strokes, the other short quick ones. These may be sounded by the two players on one instrument, or a second slit-gong may be used. Only one lip of the slit is beaten, that on the side nearest to the striker. It is struck where it stands in its place inside the covered portico in front of the house of a *tsunaun*, or in a *tobar*, and is seldom brought out into the open. When Pinari's slit-gong had been brought over to Kurtatchi from the old village of Gomen, it was first set down outside his house, and he appointed some men to beat it in order to announce its safe arrival. But they 'were ashamed to beat it in front of the women', so they moved it into the portico after a few beats. On another occasion, when a Kurtatchi man, attending a feast at Ruri in connexion with a nose-piercing ceremony involving his son, was asked to help in the beating, he declined on the ground that he was ashamed to do so before the Ruri women.

At Kurtatchi the slit-gong was always beaten by men, even for a women's dance, and I was told that women never do it. But Mr. Gordon Thomas says that on the island of Pororan women beat for their own dances (1931, p. 224). There does not seem to be any actual taboo attaching to the instrument itself; men sit or lean on it, children climb over it, and I have occasionally heard small boys beating it for fun.

The rhythm for a *kōma* is always the same, and sounds thus (each stroke indicates a long slow beat, the dots a rapid tattoo like that produced on a kettle-drum):

///.....// ///.....// ///.....//

This is continued for the space of a minute or so, then follows a pause of similar duration. The beating always ceases on the single stroke, which is given with great emphasis. If two instruments are used, their beats must cease simultaneously. To achieve

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Pan-pipes (*ka'ur* or *wa'ur* and *piu*).

534 These are made in several sizes. The larger ones (*wa'ur*) have a mouthpiece made of 'putty-nut' which makes the aperture smaller (Pl. 65, 1). These usually consist of three reeds of different diameters. The smaller ones (*piu*) have no mouthpiece, but the edge of the cane may be bevelled (Pl. 65, 3 and 4). These are usually in fours, of the same diameter, but differing in length. Both kinds are always paired, one of a pair being open below, the other cut off just below a node, so that it is stopped. More elaborate ones, consisting of a number of canes of different lengths bound together in a bundle, are sometimes seen (Pl. 65, 2).

549 *Manufacture.* The pipes are made of bamboo. Just before a dance, men and boys go out into the bush and cut large quantities of suitable canes. The instruments are made by men and boys in the village, and there is no secrecy about it, in fact it is quite a social occasion, accompanied by much merriment. To cut Pan-
[534] pipes is *nayets o piu* (Pl. 64*b*). Fresh ones must be made for every dance, and thrown away afterwards, usually into the sea. But no objection was raised when I asked to be allowed to keep some of them. The nodes are poked out with a stick or a pig-spear. The first canes cut are carefully tried out till the required note is obtained, and the others are cut to these as measures. But some men estimate the length without measuring. One man told me he did not need to measure, because he could 'think in his belly'. I have heard men whistling the sequence of notes quite accurately.

533 *Method of use.* In playing, the instrument is held in both hands. The four notes are played in varying order, usually the highest one twice, then one of the intermediate ones twice, then the lowest one twice. The Pan-pipes are used in dances in conjunction with either the slit-gong or the *mabu*, the players standing in the centre
[562] of the men's wheel-like formation. Women do not play Pan-pipes even for fun.

534 There is also in use a notched-end flute made of a single reed,
177 with two or more stops, also called *piu* (Pl. 66*a*). This is merely
439 for amusement; it is never used in dances. I have seen girls playing it at Petats, but not at Kurtatchi. I incline to think it is not indigenous, but derived from the Chinese, who have traded in the district for some long time, and who sell them in their stores.

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Conch-shell (tsuwiŋ).

The shell in general use is the triton shell. The sound hole is at the side (Pl. 65, 5). They are of various sizes, quite small ones being used by little boys. Women do not sound them. To sound the conch is *piu o tsuwiŋ*.

The *tsuwiŋ* is sounded on ceremonial occasions, especially those involving a journey of importance, such as that to bring home the long poles for the special *tobar* (boys' house) to be built for the *watawutʃ* ceremony, or on the way to one of these ceremonies. The performer jumps about and assumes a fierce expression, while blowing as loud a blast as he can upon the shell.

The musical bow (koŋkoŋo).

The musical bow consists of a flat strip of cane strung like a bow (Pl. 65, 7). It is played by holding one end between the teeth, with the string towards the face, so that the mouth acts as a resonator, while the string is plucked with the fingers towards the other end of the bow. It is used by women only, and solely for amusement, never for ceremonial purposes or at dances.

The musical bow as here used is the simplest form of an instrument which is found, with various modifications, in various parts of the Pacific area, in India and Africa, and also in Central and South America. Its distribution has been traced and discussed by H. Balfour (1899), who considers that there is close relationship throughout the Malayo-Melanesio-Polynesian series, and brings forward evidence in favour of a common origin for the forms found in India and Africa without regarding the question as settled.

The jews' harp (pokpoko).

The jews' harp is made of bamboo, with a straight tongue. Its shape is best seen from the photograph (Pl. 65, 6). It is played, also for amusement only, by the men.

The story goes that the rights of the sexes in these two instruments were originally reversed.

Story of origin of pokpoko

There were two people of Toioh (an island off the north-west corner of Bougainville), a man and a woman, they were going to be married, but they were not married yet. The man lived in the men's house, the woman in her own hut. At that time the *koŋkoŋo*, that is like a bow, belonged to the men, the women did not play it.

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I have counted as many as nine in a row, each with an arm round the waist of the woman on either side of her. They may also dance singly, and some women took great pride in so doing. One very tall woman frequently danced singly, with her baby in her arms. There are three movements, varied at the pleasure of the dancer: *magat* (*ʧok-ʧok* P.) advancing and retreating to and from the circle of men, with a balancing step first on one foot and then on the other; *tsuir* (*gumsu* P.) standing on one spot and rocking up and down with bent knees in a sort of 'jigging' movement, and *turap* (*pi* P.) which is a series of hops on the left foot only, with the right foot raised, its toe pointing to the ground. The general word for the women's dance is *sani* (*sõ'ol* P.).

The instruments are played for a period of a couple of minutes or so, the music then ceasing abruptly, with a very loud single note on the slit-gong, if it is being used. When it stops the women cease dancing, but the men and boys continue their round, while everybody sings variations on five notes, first up, then down, ending on a high last note which is drawn out as long as the breath holds, those who keep on longest being greeted with applause from the others, the whole usually ending in a burst of laughter. The women join in this vocal performance, which is called *waki* (*haki* P.). After another couple of minutes or so the slit-gong beats again, and the women continue their steps. The whole dance consists of nothing else but endless repetitions of these two alternatives, sometimes continued throughout the night till after dawn has broken. People join in it for a time, then go away and rest, or eat, and return when the spirit moves them, it does not matter, so long as some one is there to keep the thing going incessantly.

Although a *hõma* may be held for no particular reason except that the people want one, there are certain times at which it is proper to hold them, and is considered a ceremonial duty to join in them. During the weeks of preparation for the *watawut* ceremony the boys wearing the *upi* were expected to dance frequently, and were urged on by the elders when they showed signs of flagging interest (see Pl. 30*a*). The men danced also, but the women took no part in these particular affairs. The women have also certain occasions on which they dance by themselves, though they have a man to beat the slit-gong for them. One such occasion is a ceremony performed for a child on the occasion of his first being taken to the taro garden sitting on his

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valued that their owners usually refused to part with them at any price. The human figures are also represented in the upright position. Very few lime-pots are carved at the present day; the men say they are too lazy. They either use the coco-nuts without carving, or substitute cigarette or tobacco tins.

The bowls of pipes are sometimes similarly carved, but most pipes have plain bowls. The patterns are often cut for amusement on the rind of fruits, such as the mango, or the soft outer sheath of the canarium almond at certain stages of growth. Some of the traditional patterns are used for many different purposes, e.g. on the sides of plank canoes (*mon*), on paddles, on the *upi* used at the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and on the outside of *mabu* and sometimes of slit-gongs. Those which were carved on the *mabu* made for me (Fig. 25) were explained thus:

the two human figures, *kokorra*, 'two little men';
the ornament on the head of one of these, *ku a poits*, the two claws of a large salt-water crab, which are used as ornaments at dances;
lower half of pattern between the *kokorra*, the lower part of *ku a poits*;
upper half, *bēbē*, name of pattern often put on paddles;
pattern running round the instrument below the figures, *pahatʃan*, name of pattern used on *mon* and on paddles;
lines running round the bottom of the instrument, *pisosku*, name of pattern, frequent on *upi*.

A variety of patterns is seen on the *watsinan* of the plank canoe (*mon*), some of which are shown in Fig. 26. For the most part they appear to be chosen at the whim of the carver from a number of generally known conventional designs. Some have a meaning, others are said to be 'just marks'. The most interesting and most important are the highly conventionalized representations of the human form found on the larger canoes. These are survivals from the time when such canoes were used in warfare, and even now the pattern has retained a certain significance. A special feast of ceremonial pudding must be held when the *watsinan* is carved. In the olden days no woman might travel in a *mon* thus decorated, but this custom is now breaking down. It may not be sold to a white man. It is still reserved for important journeys, not being used for bonito fishing or 'for play'. A *mon* thus decorated

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all the people who participated in the hunt; they are cut up and divided equally; each man then takes his own share home. If he so desires, the *tsunaun tsan* can claim a portion for himself, whether or no he was present at the hunt. If a large number of pigs are wanted for a special feast, wild pigs thus caught are kept alive till wanted, when they are put into the common stock of food.

Domestic pigs are killed only on ceremonial occasions. The day when this will inevitably happen is anticipated with mixed feelings by their owners, pride in being able to furnish the contribution required of them being tempered by grief at the loss of a pet. No one, however, would ever refuse to part with his pig when occasion required. Domestic pigs only, never wild ones, are used in economic and ceremonial transactions. Many of these have been noted in their appropriate context.

Other possessions.

Dogs are much valued as personal possessions.[1] A good hunting dog is greatly prized by its owner and coveted by others. They are bought and sold, but never form part of a ceremonial payment as pigs do. One day four men came to Kurtatchi on their way back to a mountain village; they bought a dog from Pinari for which they paid him 10*s.* in shillings. They carried it away with them, its legs tied with strips of bark, and its mouth and eyes covered with half a coco-nut shell put on like a muzzle, a hole having been cut through which the dog could breathe.

Canoes are owned by the men, but their families may use them. A woman does not own a canoe unless her husband is dead, then she may take his. While he is alive she will ask his permission when she wishes to use it, and if he wants it himself he will go to another man and borrow one for her.

For the rest, the men have their fishing-nets, and other apparatus, pig-spears, musical instruments, &c.; some still cling to war spears, clubs, and ornamented arrows of the olden days, which they carry now on ceremonial occasions only. The women all possess black-lip oyster-shell knives, which they make by grinding down the shell on lumps of rough coral; *kōbū*, and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens on the back; cleaned-out coco-nuts for holding

[1] Dogs are given names of the same kinds as those given to pigs. One, for example, was called Patú, because the rest of the litter died, and it was thought that by and by he would die too (*patú tomat is*).

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727 266 hanging to the tree for four days and four nights. Then they take him down, and slit up his belly, and wash it, and take out the entrails. They singe his skin, and scrape it, just as if he were a pig. His skin is white underneath. They bury the head, and later on they take it up again and take off the jaw and hang it up in the house. The body they cut into slices, just as we cut up pigs, first they cut it off at the ankles, then at the knees, then at the fork. They cook the pieces in an oven and eat them with taro. This way of cooking a man is called *gohen*.

Some additional details concerning the treatment of a man brought home alive were told by a young Petats man, who got them from his father. He told them with evident enjoyment, and appeared to regret that this sort of thing did not happen any more.

In times before, all the people used to fight. We always won all our fights. They used to eat plenty of men. If a man was taken alive they used to hang him up on a tree and cut pieces off his arm, and his leg, and his shoulder. He would cry out and say: 'Do not cut me, let me go home.' They would say: 'You are not at home now, you are in our place, now we shall eat you.' They did not eat him because they were hungry, but because he was their enemy.'

266 It appeared that the teller's father had not himself eaten human flesh, but had been the son of a great warrior, and, as a small boy, had witnessed the procedure he described. Children were never [858 allowed to partake of it; if they did it was thought that they would 562] become dumb. Women did not usually eat it; the reason given was 'because they were frightened'.

266 Two occasions on which human flesh was eaten as part of a 565 ceremony are known to me. One is that marking the elevation to 766 the rank of *tsunaun* of a man renowned in war (described on p. 47) 614 and the other, the burial of the head of an enemy who had been eaten at the stone structure at Tiop, following the birth of a child to a woman 'belonging to the lineage of the stones' (described on p. 537). There are probably others, which did not come under my notice.

266 Under certain prescribed circumstances the flesh of their own 681 people was eaten. This was in all cases done as a punishment for having broken a strong taboo. The instances known to me are as follows:

266 684 In case of adultery between relatives who stand to each other in the relation of *watfitfio* (see p. 68). Present punishment—banishment of both from the village.

the children accompany the mother. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the wife of the deceased remains in the community; frequently the dead man's brother marries the widow; but if he is not so inclined or is already sufficiently provided with wives, the widow can marry another native if he pays the dead man's brother the customary purchase price.

[8] The chieftains normally have several wives; the number varies from five to fifty and even more. The common people have one, two or three wives, but rarely more. Male slaves may not marry.

The women are treated relatively well; to be sure, they have to do a great part of the field work, but they are not slaves to the same extent as on the other Solomon Islands. Also their morality is on a far higher plane than elsewhere in the group. Promiscuous intercourse among unwedded people does not take place to the extent that it does, for example, on St. Christoval and on Guadalcanar; strict propriety is insisted upon in marriage. The wives frequently have a decisive influence on the conduct of their husbands, and I have often had occasion to observe that once you are on good terms with the wives, the husbands regulate their behavior accordingly. Gifts distributed to a few old women often have better success than all arts of persuasion. The chieftain's wives have an even better life; many of them do nothing at all; they keep their husb and company when he is at home and do various kinds of handwork. Some see to it that the plantations always supply the requisite amount of foodstuffs, but only when the husband condescends to work in the plantation with his own hands do all of his better halves accompany him. When he goes on war expeditions the whole group stays at home under the surveillance of a few of the older men who are unfit for battle. One of the chieftain's wives is designated as chief wife, and her male children are the actual heirs of the chieftain. When individual communities live on islands too small to support plantations and produce the needed amount of food, it is the wives' job to keep up market trade with the wealthier neighboring districts. Early in the morning you can see them going to the market in large and small boats, usually accompanied by an older man who probably has the duty of supervisor, since a single old man is scarcely able to provide any sort of effective protection in case of an enemy attack.